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Message Text

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S E C R E T STATE 303509 TOSEC 250016

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FOLLOWING REPEAT KINSHASA 11014 ACTION SECSTATE DTD 27 DEC

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S E C R E T KINSHASA 11014

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FOR THE SECRETARY AND MULCAHY FROM SCHAUFELE
E.O. 11652: XGDS-2
TAGS: PFOR, AO CG
SUBJECT: ANGOLA: MEETING WITH MOBUTU

1. I MET WITH PRESIDENT MOBUTU FOR AN HOUR AND A HALF THIS MORNING, DECEMBER 27, AT HIS COUNTRY RESIDENCE. ALSO PRESENT WERE HIS CHIEF ADVISOR, BISENGIMANA, FOREIGN MINISTER BULA AND AMBASSADOR CUTLER.

2. I BEGAN BY EXPLAINING THE PURPOSE OF MY TRIP: TO CONSULT PERSONALLY WITH SEVERAL KEY AFRICAN LEADERS ON ANGOLA, TO EXPLAIN OUR POSITION AND ASSURE THEM OF OUR CONTINUED RESOLVE TO OPPOSE FOREIGN INTERVENTION, AND TO EXCHANGE VIEWS ON WAYS BY WHICH THE OAU MIGHT FACILITATE A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT
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IN ANGOLA. I SAID WE WANTED TO CONSULT WITH MOBUTU AS A

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FIRST STEP, AND THEN REVIEWED WITH HIM THE SUBSTANCE OF THE POINTS
WHICH I INTEND TO MAKE WITH THE GOVERNMENTS I WOULD BE VISITING.
I SAID I WOULD ALSO BE SEEING A NUMBER OF OUR AMBASSADORS
FROM OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES AND WOULD INSTRUCT THEM TO MAKE
THE SAME POINTS TO THEIR RESPECTIVE HOST GOVERNMENTS.
MOBUTU EXPRESSED AGREEMENT WITH MY PRESENTATION AND
SATISFACTION THAT WE WERE TAKING SUCH AN INITIATIVE AT
THIS TIME.

3. WITH RESPECT TO OUR OWN EFFORTS IN ANGOLA, I SAID
THAT DESPITE PROBLEMS WITH THE CONGRESS WE REMAINED
DETERMINED TO RESIST SOVIET MILITARY INTERVENTION UNTIL
A PEACEFUL SOLUTION COULD BE WORKED OUT. I NOTED THAT THE
ISSUE HAD BY NO MEANS BEEN PLAYED OUT IN THE CONGRESS,
AND IF NECESSARY THE ADMINISTRATION WAS PREPARED TO RENEW
THE BATTLE WHEN CONGRESS RECONVENES NEXT MONTH. FOR NOW,
HOWEVER, WE HAVE SUFFICIENT FUNDS TO MEET PRESENT MILITARY
REQUIREMENTS.

4. MOBUTU SAID THE CONGRESS' ACTION POSED SERIOUS PROBLEMS,
BOTH FROM THE STANDPOINT OF LIMITING PROSPECTS FOR
ADDITIONAL HELP AND THE ADVERSE EFFECT ON THE ATTITUDES AND
WILL OF OTHERS TRYING TO HELP. OF EVEN GREATER CONCERN,
HE WENT ON, WAS THE QUESTION OF ZAIRE'S OWN SECURITY IN
THE FACT OF SOVIET THREATS NOT ONLY TO THE SOUTH IN ANGOLA
BUT ALSO ON OTHER SIDES--IN CABINDA AND CONGO BRAZZAVILLE.
WHILE THE SOVIETS POURED MILITARY EQUIPMENT INTO THOSE AREAS
ZAIRE REMAINED ESSENTIALLY UNPROTECTED; NONE OF THE COUNTRY'S
VITAL AREAS--INGA DAM, THE COPPER BELT, THE CAPITAL, THE
PORTS--HAD ANY PROTECTION FROM MILITARY ATTACK. NOR DID
ZAIRE HAVE ANY MEANS FOR MAKING ITS OWN ARMAMENTS. WHILE
THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS FRIENDS "GUARANTEED" CONTINUED
SUPPORT "UNTIL THE END" TO THOSE THREATENING ZAIRE'S SECURITY,
ZAIRE HAD NO SUCH ASSURANCES. I EXPRESSED UNDERSTANDING OF MOBUTU'S
CONCERNS, ASSURED HIM WE WOULD CONTINUE TO DO OUR BEST
TO HELP, AND DISCUSSED IN THIS CONTEXT OUR FMS AND ECONOMIC
ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS FOR THE COMING YEAR.

5. I THEN TURNED TO THE URGENT MATTER OF PREVENTING
ANY ADDITIONAL RECOGNITIONS OF THE MPLA BEFORE THE OAU
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SUMMIT, NOTING THAT ZAIRE WAS IN A POSITION TO PLAY A KEY
ROLE IN THIS EFFORT AND THAT WE, FOR OUR PART, WERE READY
TO LEND SUPPORT IN ANY WAY POSSIBLE. MOBUTU REITERATED HIS
BELIEF THAT NO MORE THAN TWENTY AFRICAN STATES WILL HAVE
RECOGNIZED THE MPLA BY THE TIME THE OAU CONVENES, LEAVING
A CLEAR MAJORITY WITH WHICH TO WORK AT THE MEETING. HE
CONCEDED, HOWEVER, THAT THE MPLA AND ITS BACKERS WERE WAGING
A VIGOROUS CAMPAIGN WHICH HAD TO BE WATCHED CAREFULLY.

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MOBUTU BLAMED ALGERIA IN PARTICULAR FOR TRYING TO DRUM UP
SUPPORT FOR MPLA IN THE NAME OF "NON-ALIGNMENT." WE THEN
REVIEWED THE STATUS OF INDIVIDUAL STATES: CAMEROON WAS
SHAKY BUT VISITS BY BOTH BULA AND ME DURING THE NEXT FEW
DAYS SHOULD HELP. CHAD WAS ALSO DOUBTFUL, BUT
MOBUTU (WORKING THROUGH BONGO) HAD ASSURED THEM OF SOME MILITARY
ASSISTANCE AS A COUNTER TO THE SOVIETS' HELP. THE NIGERIANS,
I SAID, WERE WORTH CONTAINUED ATTENTION SINCE, DESPITE THEIR
RECOGNITION OF THE MPLA, THEY HAD TOLD US THEY STILL
SUPPORTED THE IDEA OF A COALITION GOVERNMENT; MOBUTU
AGREED. ON THE OTHER HAND, MOBUTU THOUGHT GHANA HAD
CAVED BECAUSE OF NIGERIAN PRESSURE AND WAS NOT SALVAGABLE.

6. COMMENT: MOBUTU WAS OBVIOUSLY CONCERNED ABOUT
DEVELOPMENTS IN WASHINGTON AND THEIR EFFECTS ON BOTH THE
ANGOLAN EFFORT AND OUR ABILITY TO CONTINUE CONTRIBUTING
TO ZAIRE'S OWN SECURITY. HOWEVER, HE WAS NOT DISCOURAGED
AND SEEMED READILY TO ACCEPT MY ASSURANCES THAT WE HAVE EVERY
INTENTION OF STAYING IN THE GAME. SOMEWHAT TO MY SURPRISE, HE
DID NOT RAISE THE QUESTION OF SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES IN ANGOLA,
AS I THOUGHT HE MIGHT WITH A VIEW TO SEEKING OUR INTERCESSION
TO KEEP THEM THERE.WHILE WE DID NOT GET INTO THE SUBSTANCE
OF MOBUTU'S VIEWS ON A POSSIBLE OAU SETTLEMENT--AND I AM NOT
SURE HIS THINKING HAS PROGRESSED VERY FAR ALONG THIS LINE
OR THAT HE CONCERNS HIMSELF WITH SUCH DETAILS--IT IS CLEAR THAT
HE VIEWS THE OAU SUMMIT AS A MAJOR CHALLENGE, AND OPPORTUNITY,
FOR MOVEMENT ON THE POLITICAL FRONT. (HE DID POINT OUT THAT THE
HEAVILY ARMED AND EQUIPPED POSITION OF MPLA FORCES MAKES CEASE-
FIRE DISADVANTAGEOUS FOR THE OTHER MOVEMENTS AND ZAIRE.)
IT IS ALSO CLEAR THAT HE SHARES OUR CONCERN FOR HOLDING THE
LINE ON MPLA RECOGNITION BEFORE THE SUMMIT. IN THIS CONNECTION,
FOREIGN MINISTER BULA WILL BE SENT SHORTLY TO ZAMBIA AND
UGANDA, AS WELL AS CAMEROON, TO MAINTAIN PRESSURE ON THIS
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ISSUE.

7. I AM CONVINCED THAT, WHILE WE CAN CONTINUE TO COUNT ON
ZAIRE IN THE MILITARY SPHERE, WE CANNOT LOOK TO MOBUTU TO
PROVIDE THE MAJOR IMPETUS FOR EFFECTIVELY ORGANIZING
POLITICAL/DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS AMONG FRIENDLY AFRICAN STATES
PRIOR TO OR DURING THE OAU MEETING. CUTLER UNQTE SISCO

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